1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

At the conclusion of the training period, some boys, to insure their competence in horsemanship, are brought to shamans who perform ceremonies for them originating in supernatural experiences with Bat; for the bat, because of its habit of clinging to objects, is associated with riding ability.

Sweat-bathing is utilized as an aid to fleetness: "Sometimes boys are put in a sweat lodge to make them good runners. They come out and run for about a mile; then they go in again if they wish. It makes them longwinded." In another account it is said that the young men emerge from the sweat lodge and run "while they are still warm." "If a man is training for running, he should keep away from women and should not drink or smoke." However, there is no taboo on the presence of women where youths are practicing running.

As the boy's training advances, the circle of those who are interested in his progress steadily enlarges.

I was a small boy, about nine years old, when I saw this. I remember it well. Many boys in my time saw what I'm going to tell you about. It was just before Geronimo's last war, about 1884 or 1885.

Old Man C. had an orphan boy. He was rearing and training that boy. He had taught him how to ride well. The boy was about fifteen or sixteen years old and was well trained as a warrior. He knew how to shoot an arrow, how to use a sling, how to shoot with guns. He was a good hunter; he could shoot deer. He was as good as the average man, though he was just a young boy.

One man had made tiswin [a weak beer made of maize]. C. went to a crowd of men who were drinking. He said, "I've got a boy. I am his uncle. The boy can ride any horse bareback without a rope on it."

"Well," one man said, "we all like to see things like that. We will bet you two big jars of tiswin. You get that boy; let him ride down that steep hill bareback."

In those days one jar of tiswin was worth a horse, and a horse was very hard to get. That much tiswin was worth a belt and cartridges, or a gun and belt. Guns were hard to get in those days too. So C. told the man, "Give your horse to him. Any side of the hill you want to have him ride is all right."

Nobody knew then that this boy was so well trained. C. had been out training him somewhere away from the rest of the people. The man took the bronco on the side of the hill, and the boy was called over there. The horse had a rope on but no saddle.

Just as soon as C. spoke, the boy would do what he said, whether it was dangerous or not. That boy rode the horse down the hill just like nothing! The horse pitched all around with him but could not shake him off. So C. got the tiswin, and he was drinking and got feeling good.

In those days the warriors never went without their guns. They always car-

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

even forty times to have a baby. There are cases where a baby has come sooner, but they are very rare. I believe this today. It is a general Chiricahua belief. I have seen it work out too many times to doubt it. 842

Acceptance of this idea reduces the fear of the consequences of an isolated sexual experience, but it dooms the unmarried mother to the stigma of having been repeatedly unchaste. The girl who claims that she is with child as the result of but one misstep is simply not believed. [558] [848] [836]

In another account the blood accumulation theory is worked out more precisely:

You have to have intercourse with a girl more than once to get a baby started. If you do it about three times a week, you will have a baby started in about two or three months. But it depends on the man and woman and on how much they do it. I know of a girl who had intercourse with a man many times in one night. If a girl did it at that rate, it wouldn't take any time at all to get a child started. [833]

This theory of conception does not demand that the necessary semen be that of one man:

If a woman has intercourse with more than one man over a period of time, the child that comes will belong to both of them; each man contributes something to its physical makeup. The child will belong mostly to the man who has had most intercourse with the woman. If a woman has intercourse with many men and a child is born, the men say that each one has some small part in the child. Of a child of a loose woman one often hears a man say, "I have an elbow in there," or, "I have a foot in there."

It is believed that many men can be the father of one child. If a woman goes with several men, it is said that the child belongs to all of them. That is why an illegitimate child is so good-looking. He has the good points of all the men. And that is why the word for illegitimate child means "child of many." It can have parts from more than one man. [827] [848] [192]

It is obvious from the last two excerpts that there exists a well-defined concept of heredity, based upon the continuity of the "blood" and its properties. This was made more explicit by a commentator who declared: "Children look like their parents. My oldest daughter looks like my mother, the old men tell me. My youngest daughter looks like her mother." This view is also expressed in joking. Thus, a young man was told by his friends that his big ears strangely resembled those of an illegitimate child whose parentage had not been fully accounted for. 842 827 [522]

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

842 827 648 595 Not long ago the idea that a child may have more than one father was introduced in a legal dispute. A man had been practicing polygyny with two sisters. Since plural marriages are banned by white edict, only one of these women could be registered as his lawful wife. When the other became pregnant, the problem arose of how to answer the queries of the agency officials. Finally, the woman blamed another young man for her [837] condition, and, since he admitted having had intercourse with her three times, it seemed that he would be punished and be forced to support the baby. It was here that native doctrine was invoked. A legally minded brother of the accused man proved to the superintendent that the "secret husband" had been having relations with this woman and asserted that the child belonged "more to that man than to anyone else." It is doubtful that the superintendent understood the latter statement, but he was enough impressed by the testimony concerning the woman's irregular conduct to reduce the threatened punishment.

826 833 With the theory of blood accumulation goes a concept of blood exchange. The primary result of sexual intercourse is to add male blood to the store of female blood. The condition of the generative blood of the man is modified by his age and the state of his health. The blood accumulated within a woman has two special characteristics in addition. First, it is associated some- [841] how with the menstruum. Menstrual blood is most dangerous to [753] men; contact with it brings, at the least, rheumatic joints. Therefore, men fear it and avoid intercourse with menstruating women. Second, a woman's blood is in a special category because, if she is promiscuous, her augmented supply represents the contributions of many men of dubious soundness.

826 833 753 This fully explains the warning to young men against tampering with older women of bad reputation. Evidently, it is suspected that during intercourse the man's genitals may come in contact with the woman's blood and that any disease which it carries can be thus transmitted to him. Tuberculosis, for instance, has been considered communicable in this way:

> In the time before my day and my father's day, the Chiricahua didn't know what tuberculosis was. They knew that sometimes a man's stomach got bad and

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

FOLK BELIEFS, MEDICAL PRACTICE AND SHAMANISM

FOLK BELIEFS, MUSCULAR TREMORS, AND DREAMS

ALL items of belief are by no means of equal importance. They range in significance from the trivial to those basic for the ceremonies. Many of them are of no great moment and, indeed, may be uttered half in jest.

They say in the way of a joke that you get a rash from giving things and taking them back all the time. You have to put ashes on the rash, which is called "lice sew you up." If you are stingy, the person from whom you take things says, "I wish you'd get warts" [such warts should be cut off with sinew], or, "I wish you'd get the rash."

Sneezing, which indicates that "someone is thinking of you," may also be treated jokingly:

Upon sneezing, they say, "I am still here for you," or, "Sometime we will see each other again, sweetheart." Once two old men and I were together. One sneezed, and he made this remark. The other told him, "Nobody is thinking of you, you old fool! All that means is that you're catching cold."

Yet some regard the sneeze as an ominous sign and pray to the culture hero or exclaim, "May it be well!"

When the ear rings, "someone is talking about you," and young people think the speaker is one of their admirers. Some persons regard a frequent buzzing in the ear as a sign that good news will be heard; others say it is the calling of a dead relative. A burning sensation in the ear is a harbinger of cold weather.

Rings around the sun and moon indicate change of weather, rain, or snow. Rain will come if a horned toad or a snake is killed and turned on its back, if a dog rolls on the ground, if there is a good deal of drumming in the camps or much singing of masked-dancer songs. Smoke from a big fire kindled on a still night will cause clouds to gather. The crescent moon "is draining" when its tip is pointed downward, and rain falls. "A dark, heavy, pouring rain is male; a light rain when the horizon seems bright nevertheless is called female rain."

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

nevertheless is called female rain." To stop rain or snow, lice are hunted and tied to a rock with sinew; or an individual may draw a charcoal ring around his anus and lift his buttocks to the sky to bring the sun out. Sudden storms are regarded with fear. "If it doesn't look like rain, but then the wind and dust come up suddenly and it starts to rain, it brings news—bad news of death. If someone is very sick and this happens, it means he won't last. I have seen it happen."

Various things are seen in the half or full moon, the most common being walnut or cottonwood trees and a human face. Some persons think that watching the sunrise or sunset colors will cause sickness. Warts are also the penalty for pointing to heavenly bodies with the fingers; only the thumb may be so used.

Pulling out gray hair is said to make it grow faster; it is also held that one who brings water and drinks first himself will grow old quickly. It is forbidden to step over a person who is sitting or lying down: "If someone starts to step over you before he sees you, he has to go back. If he has already stepped over, he has to step back." Because it "may cause a severe pain in the stomach, food which is being cooked is not stirred with a knife." Eating frogs can result, it is thought, in bowlegs. Blood and tobacco are considered incompatible:

> My people don't want any blood around when they smoke. If there is blood on the hands, they will get it off before they smoke. If a person has a knife with blood on it, he cleans it up or puts it away before he smokes. He will have bad luck otherwise.

Much of the cosmology is expressed in terms similar to the beliefs already enumerated. Thus, the pitching of a flour-laden burro explains the Milky Way; an earthquake is the crying of the earth over an approaching epidemic; eclipses, either of the sun or of the moon, warn of epidemics also and necessitate a masked-dancer ceremony to ward off the disaster; a shooting star points to an advancing enemy; of a cloudburst it is said, "The sky is old and has split there; when it is sewed up it will be all right."

Of greater significance than such beliefs is a diagnostic sign, a muscular tremor, which few fail to heed at some time in their lives:

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

827 787 This is the unknown force, the power, that causes the twitching of the flesh anywhere on your body. Some people have it near the eye, some at the foot, the shoulder, or on some other part of the body. The Chiricahua believe in this as an indication of what is going to happen. A man is starting out on a trip by horse. If he gets the tremor and it tells him not to go, he turns back until another day. It is often the determining factor in a person's life. It shows you some special event. A person may occasionally get it in various parts of the body, but he knows of a special place that has a meaning for him. Some believe in this more than they do in the shaman. To some this is the real power. People find out by experience what their tremor means.

[763] I know that certain signs mean certain things. I get it under one eye. It means someone is going to die. I had it for two days at the beginning of the girl's puberty rite. Soon after the ceremony a woman died. I mentioned this to another man with whom I was walking. He said he had it there sometimes too and that it was a bad sign for him also. Just two weeks ago I had this sign for a long time. Now I learn that C.'s wife has just died. This trembling under the eye is a general sign, and all agree on its meaning. But I didn't recognize these signs for myself or notice that they were giving information to me until a few years ago. I had had this sign a great deal. I decided to study it and see if it was true. So I remembered whenever I had it, and, sure enough, someone always died a few days later.

. . . . Some people, when they have a bad sign, rub ashes on the place that is trembling. Or they say, "Whatever you are, don't let this thing come to pass." The ashes don't make my trembling stop.

Tribute is paid to the dependability of these signals by another informant:

Muscular shaking is recognized as "that which informs one" in some emergency. When a man is just about to do something that will cost him his life or property, or to make some great decision, if he knows the meaning of his muscu-
[782] lar tremor, he will be warned. Some people pray to their muscular tremor. It is so specialized to some that they look upon it as a ceremony for themselves. Some people place more faith in it than in ceremonies.

When you have the shaking on the outside of your legs, it is recognized by everybody as a bad sign. For most people this holds good. A person must recognize what his own tremors mean though. You watch what happens after you get it and then you learn what it was trying to say to you. Pretty soon it is a sure thing to you. The inside of the legs is usually a good sign. If the muscle of the arm [bicep] twitches, it is said that the person will carry a great deal; he will be successful in war.

My good sign is over my right eye. When it is under my left eye, it is surely going to rain. In the old days, during the Indian Wars, when I was nervous and afraid, I would get a tremor on the inside of my leg. Then I would be at peace and go to sleep. It was my sign.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

827
787

The warnings of muscular tremor served well in the strife of the seventies and eighties:

Once a bunch of Geronimo's band saw C. and his wife working in the distance. They planned to catch C. and force him to go with them. All of a sudden they saw C. and the woman drop everything, jump on a horse, and head back toward the reservation. Many years later someone reminded C. of this. They asked him what warned him. He said, "Oh, yes! I remember the time. I was working and all of a sudden I got a muscular tremor sign which I knew from experience meant, 'Something bad is going to happen. Drop everything!' So I did."

The most prevalent of these signs by far and the ones upon which there is greatest agreement are those which occur on the outside and the inside of the arms and legs and those which are felt above and below the eyes. But personal variation is common too.

While everyone knows of these signs, there is a marked difference in the amount of reliance which each individual places upon them. Most persons accept the warnings gratefully and try to fathom the meaning of unusual tremors to which they are subject. An occasional individual, however, goes beyond this and uses the tremor as a guide to all important problems and as a key to the solution of the perplexities of others who seek his advice. In a time of emergency he appeals to this phenomenon and waits for some sign to govern his actions. He may even have songs and prayers which he directs to the muscular tremor in anticipation of a reply.

[533]
[782]

P. believes in this more than in anything else on earth. He says he has lived to an old age with it. When he gets a quivering in the muscle inside the legs, it's very good. When it's on the outside of his legs, it's very bad. It's the same with the arms. Before any important thing he intends to do, whether for himself or for any of his friends in the tribe, or for the whole tribe, he has to ask his sign. He has lived according to the direction of these signs.

I have heard him say, "The sign does not come on just to give you a sensation. It means something. Many of you don't believe in it. I believe in it and I know the meaning of it. It has saved me trouble. Many a time, when I have had a bad sign, I have waited for a good sign before doing something. I have prayed for help to meet trouble when I have been warned. Then I wait for an answer. I get my answer by getting a good sign. Then I go about my affairs." And I know that he prays to Child of the Water and Life Giver about these signs.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

827 787 This elaborate exploitation of muscular twitching and its use on behalf of others departs from the mere reading of diagnostic signs and impinges upon the realm of true ceremonialism.

787 "The dream and muscular tremor are about the same. They both tell the truth, whether good or bad." The implication is that specific dreams or types of dreams convey definite meanings. This, indeed, is the case, and the most common dream elements upon which there is general agreement are contained in the following summary:

> To dream of fire is bad. If you dream of fire, the only thing to do to prevent something bad from happening is to get up right away and start a fire. This takes its place. It rubs it out. I did this down at my old home. I dreamed of a big fire. It was the middle of the night, but I got up, went down to the ditch with boxes, and fired them.
>
> I got sick a few years ago. Before this happened I dreamed of my house. There was a big fire near it. It came close to the house and blackened one side of it. Now my one side is no good. If I had dreamed that the whole house burned, I'd be gone today.
>
> To dream of water, of water overflowing, is just as bad. And there is no way to fix it when you dream of a big flood. I got sick before L. did. So he came to me and put pollen on me and prayed for me. He came and stayed with me that night. During the night I woke up. He was making noises and having a nightmare. He woke up and told me what it was about. He said, "I dreamed that a big flood of water came down the canyon. It came under my bed and washed me away." He died a little later. Fire and water are no good to dream of!
>
> To dream of losing teeth is another thing. It is as bad as anything. And if you dream that buffaloes, bulls, or any kind of hoofed animals are running after you, it is bad. Something bad is going to happen to you then. I dreamed of that just before I got sick and I am not well yet. They say that, soon after you dream this, sickness is coming around you.
>
> Dreams about yourself mean the opposite. If you dream you are going to be sick, that means you are going to stay well. If you dream that you are well, it's not good. I dreamed that I was well. That's why I stay the same way. If you dream that a snake bites you, that's good. It won't happen. If you dream that you die, it means that you will live a long time. If you dream that your father, mother, brother, or sister dies, it doesn't mean that one. It means that someone outside the family is going to die.
>
> If you dream about summer, about everything green, about things growing and fruits and pollen, everything is all right.

In this quotation the speaker fails to include certain dreams that are consistently held to be most unfortunate, namely,

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

756 is expected to cure snake sickness, a horse ceremony is used for
755 anyone thrown from a horse, and a deer rite is employed to bring
825 luck in the hunt. However, the horse shaman may feel that his ritual can do other things besides procuring new horses, finding lost ones, and healing those injured in mishaps with horses. The logic of some of these extensions is not always self-evident.

756 The medium through which supernatural power appears to a
778 person is always considered by him to be "alive" and capable of active communication with him. But this does not mean that only animate beings, in the ordinary sense of the word, are considered as possible sources of supernatural power. Any object or force of the external world is potentially animate for the candidate for supernatural power. Moreover, some object which is alive and communicative for one person need represent no such qualities for another:

> Some say that the earth talks to them. They get their ceremony from that.
> [823] Some say the wind has life. Some say the mountains, like the San Andreas, have life. Anyone who gets power from it says, "That mountain talks to me." The old people tell stories that show that all things have life—trees, rocks, the wind, mountains. One believes that there is a cliff where the Mountain People stay and that they open the cliff and talk to him. I have heard old men say that trees, rocks, and mountains have life.

[827] An instance of the latitude permitted in such assertions is the
[787] case of a man who claimed to receive special knowledge from his own anal flatulence. This evidently acted more as a sign, comparable to muscular tremor and the dream, than as a true ceremony. Yet a number of informants have seen in this man's abil-
[525] ity a variety of supernatural power. At any rate he is alleged to have used it in games of chance.

In spite of such novel developments, the revelations of power tend to cluster about certain familiar animals, natural forces, plants, and supernaturals.

There is no definite arrangement of powers in order of efficacy. Power derived from "a little thing"—an insect, for instance—may prove to be of inestimable value. And, since the effectiveness of power depends so much upon the relations between the shaman and the source, the same kind of power—from lightning,

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

755 He knelt down with arms outstretched. He prayed in a low tone. I couldn't
756 hear all of it. He prayed to Yusn, Child of the Water, Cloud, and other things.
He prayed for a long time.
989 Then he told us, "Watch that turquoise. It is going to be here in the center of my breast." And he held his arms outstretched with his hands open and began to sing. . . . . Between songs he told us to pray for our own good.

While he was singing, that turquoise disappeared. Everybody watched, and there it was right on his breast. And it started moving just like a little bug, going to his right arm, then moving up his arm, around his back to his other arm, and then back across the left arm to his chest. It was just like a little bug walking around on his back. And before you knew it, it was in the center of the sheet again. Everyone was praying. They believed there was something to him.

755 A shaman may also resort to such exhibitions to prove the
756 hopelessness of a case:

My father looked at the boy. He took two eagle tail feathers and stuck them down the boy's throat. He wobbled them around. He took the feathers out, and big worms were there on the white calico. They were big and they were fighting. My father said, "They are hungry. That means no lungs are left. I can't do anything for you. If you had come earlier, I could have cured him. But it is too late." He burned up the worms. . . . . They took him [the patient] back. . . . . He died.

755 If the cause of the illness is found to be witchcraft, the shaman may be counseled by his power to continue his songs and prayers with greater intensity and thus defy the witch. At the proper time (usually the fourth and last night) and under the direction of his supernatural sponsor, he sucks out the object of witchcraft with his lips or a tube and spits it into the fire, where it "pops."
[827] As the sorcerer's "arrow" falls into the fire, the onlookers spit,
[783] thus symbolically ridding themselves of things unclean. Objects of many kinds are sucked from the bodies of patients: "A bone, a stick, horsehair, a needle, human hair, a little buckskin pouch, a spider—these are the kinds of things taken out."

The traits which have been described are the ones most frequently represented in a curing rite, but occasionally other modes of treatment appear:

A shaman may, after working over a sick person or sucking on the place that hurts, make a hissing noise to the directions, as though driving away the disease. This is called "to blow away from him." Some specialize in this.